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### The Prayer of Moses the Man of God<sup>1</sup>

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IN my paper on Assyrian *ikkār* and *irriš*, farmer, published ZDMG 65, 563, l. 30—564, l. 12,<sup>2</sup> I have discussed two couplets of Ps. 90 which bears the title *The Prayer of Moses, the Man of God*. I have stated there that vv. 7–9, also 11. 12 and v. 15, are later additions, and that v. 4 should precede v. 3. The ἀπαξ λεγόμενον זרמתי in v. 5 is connected with the noun זרמה, *emission of semen*, Ezek. 23 20. We find the same verb in Arabic: *zāramat bihi ummuhu* means *his mother was pregnant with him* or *his mother bore him*. The Heb. verb זרם means *to engender, generate, procreate, bring into life*. Hitzig combined it with זרמה in Ezek. 23 20, and interpreted: *du streuest (die Keime ihres Werdens) aus*.<sup>3</sup> If we want to imitate the obscurity of the original we may say, *Thou springest them*; to *spring* may mean *to cause to spring up* or *arise, bring forth, generate, also to scatter as in sowing*. The version of the Psalms in the Book of Common

<sup>1</sup> Read at the meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, New York, Dec. 29, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> For the abbreviations, see this JOURNAL, vol. 29, p. 112; cf. AJSL 26, 204; ZDMG 63, 530. — *Mic.* = Haupt, *The Book of Micah* (Chicago, 1910).

<sup>3</sup> See Hitzig, *Die Psalmen* (Heidelberg, 1836) 2, 152 n.\*; *Die Psalmen* (Leipzig, 1865) 2, 234.

Prayer has *Thou scatterest them*. Symmachus renders: ὡς καταργεῖς ἐξερύναξας αὐτούς, *Thou didst scatter them like a squall*. The Syriac Bible has שְׂרַבְתָּהוֹן, *their generations*, but this should be the denominative Pael, שְׂרַבַּת אָנוֹן, *Thou hast generated them*. Instead of the familiar *Thou carriest them away as with a flood; they are as asleep*, we must render: *Thou hast gendered them year by year*.

Duhm<sup>4</sup> suggested the reading וְרַמְתָּם instead of וְרַמְתָּם, and his emendation has been adopted by Gunkel, who has just published the third edition of his *Ausgewählte Psalmen* (Göttingen, 1912) and an important article on the classification of the Psalms in the November number of the *Deutsche Rundschau* edited by Julius Rodenberg. But the received text is correct. Duhm is right, however, in regarding the following שְׁנָה, *sleep*, as a mispointed haplography of שְׁנָה שְׁנָה, *year in year out* (cf. *Kings*, 243, 27).<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, בְּבֶקֶר, after יְהוֹי, is vertical dittography of בְּבֶקֶר at the beginning of the following line, and וְחֶלֶף, or rather וְחֶלֶף, after יִצְיִן, is vertical dittography of וְחֶלֶף, or rather וְחֶלֶף, at the end of the preceding verse.

In v. 14 the meaningless בְּבֶקֶר in the phrase שְׁבַעְנוּ בְּבֶקֶר חֶסֶד, *satisfy us in the morning with Thy mercy*, is a corruption of a rare word for *abundance*, Heb. מִכָּר. I have shown (*Kings* 238, 51; cf. ZDMG 65, 563, l. 23) that we have the same stem in מִכָּר, 2 K 12 c. 8, which does not mean *acquaintance*, but *donor, benefactor*. Assy. *makāru* means *to give in abundance*. We must read שְׁבַעְנוּ בְּמִכָּר חֶסֶד, *Sate us with the abundance of Thy mercy*.

While שְׁנָה must be repeated in v. 5, it must be omitted in v. 10, and the last word of that verse, וְנִצְפָה, should be pointed וְנִצְפָה, from יָעַף, *to be weary*, while the preceding וְנִינֵעַ חֶסֶד seems to be a corruption of וְנִינֵעַ חֶסֶד, *we toil for nought*. Schultens, *Animadversiones* (Amsterdam, 1732) p. 175, translated: *Quia velociter transit, et avolamus*; but וְנִינֵעַ חֶסֶד cannot mean *for it soon passes away* or *for it is soon cut off* (contrast *Nah.* 28, below). J. D. Michaelis' rendering: *Schnell fährt das Schiff über die See und fliegt*

<sup>4</sup> *Die Psalmen erklärt von B. Duhm* (Freiburg i/B, 1899).

*davon*<sup>5</sup> can be appreciated only in the light of our recent aviatric records. The divergences of the Ancient Versions show that the text is corrupt. The pointing נָעָפָה instead of נָעָפָה is supported by the Syriac Bible, which renders: מְטוֹל דָּאָתָא עֲלֵין מוֹכְכָא וְאַתְמָרְפִּין *because affliction comes over us, and we are worn out*.<sup>6</sup> I have stated in ZDMG that this familiar verse must be translated:

Our years are threescore and ten,  
and, if one be strong, even fourscore;  
Most of it is labor and sorrow,  
we are ever toiling and moiling.

But instead of בְּכָל־עֵת נִינֵעַ, *we are ever toiling*, in the last hemistich, it is better to read נִינֵעַ חָנָם, *we toil for nought*. Goethe said to Eckermann on Jan. 27, 1824, when he was 75: *Man hat mich immer als einen vom Glück besonders begünstigten gepriesen . . . allein im Grunde ist es nichts als Mühe und Arbeit gewesen*.<sup>7</sup> The reading *most of it*, Heb. רַב־כֶּסֶף, is supported by GSC.<sup>2</sup> The Book of Common Prayer has: *Though men be so strong that they come to fourscore years*.

This Psalm is undoubtedly one of the most impressive poems in the Bible, but several of its familiar lines are meaningless, *e.g.* the well-known *Establish Thou the work of our hands upon us*. It sounds beautiful, but *upon us* in this connection is beyond explanation, and the meter shows that it is merely dittography of the *upon us* at the end of the preceding hemistich, *May the favor of the Lord be upon us*. The received text repeats the phrase *Support the work of our hands* without the meaningless *upon us*. This may be a correction of the preceding clause.<sup>8</sup> The Book of Common Prayer has *Prosper Thou our handiwork*.

This beautiful poem is, of course, not a prayer of Moses, the man of God. Cheyne states in his *Bampton Lectures*<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> *Deutsche Übersetzung des Alten Testaments*, part 6, p. 144 (Göttingen, 1782).

<sup>6</sup> This Syriac verb does not mean *to be snatched away*, as some commentators suppose, but *to be weary, exhausted, worn out, afflicted*.

<sup>7</sup> Cited by Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms* (London, 1888) p. 255.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Haupt, *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 47, l. 42.

<sup>9</sup> Cheyne, *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter* (London, 1891) pp. 74/5

that almost all the ancient and medieval commentators, and many of the best modern Christian exegetes, deny the Psalm to Moses.<sup>10</sup> Grotius (*Annotationes in Vetus Testamentum*) suggested that some later poet might have written the Psalm in the character of Moses; he remarks on the title *Oratio Mosis hominis Dei: Non ab ipso facta est sed ejus rebus animoque conveniens*. The title was suggested by the references in the opening couplet to the creation of the world and by certain phraseological parallels (יְמוֹת, שְׁנוֹת) in Deut. 32 which had long since been ascribed to Moses.<sup>11</sup> The Mosaic authorship was denied by Melancthon's friend Esrom Rüdinger in his *Libri Psalmorum Paraphrasis Latina* (Görlitz, 1581).<sup>12</sup> Hitzig believed that the poem was written between 164 and 152 B.C., and C. v. Lengerke (1847) assigned it to the later Maccabean period. The preceding Psalm (89) is undoubtedly Maccabean, and I have shown in the *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé* (Paris, 1909) p. 276, that the following Psalm (91) is a Maccabean talisman. The Prayer of Moses, the Man of God, may be almost as late as the Book of Ecclesiastes, which seems to have been completed about 100 B.C.<sup>13</sup> Like Ecclesiastes this pessimistic

<sup>10</sup> But Franz Delitzsch, *Psalmen* (Leipzig, 1894) p. 585 stated: *Es giebt kaum ein Schriftdenkmal des Altertums, welches das Überlieferungszeugnis seiner Abstammung so glänzend rechtfertigte wie dieser Psalm*, and Tholuck, *Psalmen* (Gotha, 1873) p. 569 said: *Die Stimme des alten Gesetzgebers lässt sich nicht undeutlich herauserkennen*. T. C. Murray, in his *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Psalms* (New York, 1880) p. 271/2 says that none of the allusions of this song are unsuited to what we know of the Mosaic times . . . . It could well have been preserved in the early song book, "The Book of Valor."

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Leipzig, 1866) p. 37.

<sup>12</sup> He says, *Verisimilius multo fuerit, magisque consentaneum, Antiochici temporis Psalmum existimare*; cf. Rosenmüller's *Scholia* (Leipzig, 1823) p. 1513; see also C. Ehrt, *Abfassungszeit und Abschluss des Psalters* (Leipzig, 1869) p. 3.

<sup>13</sup> See Haupt, *Ecclesiastes* (Baltimore, 1905) p. 3. My interpretation of Eccl. 4 13-16 as referring to Antiochus Epiphanes and Alexander Balas has been endorsed by Bertholet in TLZ 35, 389. Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms* (London, 1904) 2, 78, called attention to the fact that v. 10 of our Psalm is alluded to in the Book of Jubilees (23 12. 15) which was, according to Charles, written before 96 B.C. or some years earlier in the reign of

poem exhibits a number of theological interpolations, *e.g.* the couplet consisting of vv. 7 and 9:<sup>14</sup>

Through Thy wrath we end, snatched away through Thine ire;  
For all our days decline, our years are ended in sighing.

This is a gloss to the third couplet of the original poem:

Thou hast gendered them year by year, like sprouting herbage they are:  
In the morn it buds and blossoms, at even it is seared and withered;

and to the first line of this gloss, *Through Thy wrath we end, snatched away through Thine ire*, we have a tertiary gloss in v. 11:

Who minds Thy wrath? who heeds Thine anger?

Instead of the meaningless *וּכִירָאתָךְ*, and according to the fear of Thee, we must read *וּמִי רֵאָה*, and who sees or heeds? The traditional rendering, even according to Thy fear, so is Thy wrath, is impossible.

Just as obscure is the traditional reading of the second hemistich of the following line, *וּנְבֵא לִבְךָ חִכְמָה*, which is supposed to mean *that we cause our hearts to come unto wisdom* or *that we bring in (harvest) a heart of wisdom*. Wellhausen, followed by Gunkel, reads *וּנְבֵא לִבְךָ חִכְמָה*, *that we may enter the gate of wisdom*. This is just as questionable as his reading *וְרַע מֵתָם שָׁנָה*, *the generation of men is shifting*, instead of *וּרְמַתָּם שָׁנָה שָׁנָה*, *Thou hast gendered them year by year*. Instead of *וּנְבֵא לִבְךָ חִכְמָה*, we must read *וּמְלֵא לִבְבָּנוּ חִכְמָה*, and fill our hearts with wisdom.<sup>15</sup>

V. 8 is a gloss to the first line of the third stanza:

Relent, O יהוה! How long? take pity on Thy servants!

Heb. *עַד-מַתִּי*, *how long?* or *enough!* is used here elliptically

John Hyrcanus; see the new edition (1911) of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. 15, p. 534; cf. Littmann's translation in Kautzsch's *Pseudepigraphen* (Tübingen, 1900) p. 79 and Schürer's GJV 3, 379 (1909).

<sup>14</sup> I was very much interested in finding that Feodor Spanjer-Herford in his metrical version of the Psalms (Braunschweig, 1896) has bracketed all the lines which I regard as glosses, the only difference being that he has bracketed v. 13 instead of v. 12.

<sup>15</sup> Graetz, *Krit. Commentar über die Psalmen* (Breslau, 1883) p. 512, read *וּבֵן הָדוֹר נְבִיא לִבְךָ חִכְמָה*, so *hat uns kund getan ein Prophet weisen Herzens*, and considered this an allusion to Is. 65<sup>20</sup>.

like the Assy. *adi matî* in cuneiform penitential psalms. The synonym of *adi matî*, Assy. *azulâp*, which is connected with Heb. אָחֲלִי, *O that!* is used in the same way.<sup>16</sup> For the perfect שָׁתָה, *Thou hast placed*, in v. 8, we must read the imperative שִׁתָּה, *do place*, and the following עֲוֹנוֹתֵינוּ, *our iniquities*, is a corruption of עֲנוּתֵינוּ, *our suffering*; we find the same word, mispointed עֲנוּת in Ps. 22 25. Similarly עֲלָמֵנוּ in the second hemistich, which is supposed to mean *our secret sins*, is a transposition of עֲמָלֵנוּ, *our toil*. Instead of *Thou hast placed our iniquities before Thee, our secret sins in the light of Thy countenance*, we must read :

Oh ! place our sufferings before Thee ! our toil in the light of Thy face !

*i.e.* Consider our suffering, and have mercy upon us ! Let the light of Thy countenance shine upon us ! Beam love upon us ! (Num. 6 25). A similar transposition has been suggested for Eccl. 3 11, where several critics read גַּם אֶת־הָעֵלֶם instead of the received reading נֶתַן בְּלִבָּם. The true reading, however, is הָעֵלֶם, *obscurity, dimness*: God has put obscurity in our heart, He has veiled our mental vision.<sup>17</sup> Locke says, our human understanding is the divine revelation through which God has imparted to us a portion of the truth. § has ὁ αἰὼν ἡμῶν in the present passage, reading עֲלָמֵנוּ instead of עֲלָמֵנוּ.

Duhm has pointed out that vv. 48, 49 of the preceding Psalm are a misplaced gloss to Ps. 90 :

עַל־מַה־שׁוּא בָּרְאָתָא <sup>α</sup> אָדָם :	זָכַר אֲדֵנִי מִהֶחֱלָד	48
יִמְלֹט נַפְשׁוֹ מִיִּדְשָׁאוֹל <sup>β</sup> :	מִיִּקְבֵּר <sup>β</sup> לֹא־יִרְאֶה מוֹת	49
יִחִיָּה ו 49 (β)	כָּל בְּנֵי 48 (α)	
48 Remember, O Lord, what life is,	on what vanity α man is created ! <sup>19</sup>	
49 Who is he that β sees not death,	and saves his life from Hades.	
(α) 48 all the sons of	(β) 49 lives and	

<sup>16</sup> See Zimmern, *Babyl. Busspsalmen* (Leipzig, 1885) pp. 28 and 118 ; Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*, pp. 44 <sup>a</sup> and 435 <sup>b</sup> ; *Assyr. Lesestücke* (1909) p. 153 <sup>b</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> See Haupt, *Koheleth* (Leipzig, 1905) p. 29, n. 7 ; cf. *Nah.* 32.

<sup>18</sup> Read ὅλ ; cf. below, note on וְאִשְׁמֹרֶה, v. 4.

<sup>19</sup> Lit. *Thou hast created man*.

The connection between Ps. 90 and Ps. 89 48 was pointed out by Rüdinger; see Hupfeld's commentary (Gotha, 1888) 2, 364.

The Prayer of Moses, the Man of God, consists of three stanzas, each comprising two couplets with 3 + 3 beats in each line. Duhm states in his commentary<sup>4</sup> that this poem is written in tetrastichs with three beats, but in his translation<sup>20</sup> he has four beats in each stich, or rather hemistich; so, too, Bickell in his *Dichtungen der Hebräer*, part 3 (Innsbruck, 1883) p. 171. The original poem consisted only of the first two stanzas; the third seems to be a subsequent liturgical addition (so, too, Duhm and Gunkel). Hupfeld regarded vv. 1–12 as an introduction to vv. 13–17; he divided the poem into three stanzas: vv. 1–6, 7–12, and 13–17. According to Olshausen there are no regular stanzas.<sup>21</sup> Reuss<sup>22</sup> believed that there was a close connection between vv. 13–17 and the preceding verses, and contested the theory that the last stanza was secondary. Rosenmüller<sup>12</sup> divided the poem into two sections: vv. 1–11 and 12–17.

The Hebrew text should be arranged as follows:

### תפלה למשה איש האלהים

אֲדֹנָיִּי בְּדֹר וָדֹר	1 i A	{וּמַעֲוֹלִים עַד־עוֹלָם אָתָּה־}
בְּטָרִם הַרִּים יִלְדוּ	2	:וְתַחֲוִלֵּל אֶרֶץ וּתְבַלֵּל־
כִּי־אַלֶּף שָׁנִים בַּעֲיֵינֶךָ	4 ii	כִּי־יִוֵּם אֶת־מוֹלָדִי וְאֶשְׁמֹרֶה־:
תִּשָּׁב אֲנֹשׁ אֶל־דָּפָה	3	:וְתֹאמַר שׁוּבוּ בְנֵי־אָדָם־
וּרְמַתָּם שָׁנָה שָׁנָה	5 iii B	יְהוָה כַּחֲצִיר יַחֲלָף־
בְּבֹקֶר יִפְרָח וּבִצְיֹן־	6	לְעָרֵב יִמּוֹלֵל וּבִגְשׁ־:

<sup>20</sup> *Die Psalmen übersetzt von B. Duhm* (Freiburg i/B, 1899).

<sup>21</sup> *Die Psalmen erklärt von Justus Olshausen* (Leipzig, 1853) p. 367.

<sup>22</sup> *Das Alte Testament übersetzt, eingeleitet und erläutert von Eduard Reuss*, vol. 5, p. 205 (Braunschweig, 1893).



10 iv יְמֵי שְׁנוֹתָנוּ<sup>8</sup> שְׁבַעִים      וְאֵם בְּנוֹבוֹרֶת שְׁמוֹנִים<sup>9</sup>  
וְרָבָם עֶמֶל וְאוֹן      נִיגַע חָגָם וְנִעְפָּה:

13 v C שׁוֹבָה יְהוָה עַד־מָתִי      וְהִנָּחֵם עָלַי עַבְדֶּיךָ<sup>10</sup>  
14 שְׁבַעְנוּ בַּמֶּכָּר חֶסֶדְךָ      וְנִרְנָנָה<sup>11</sup> בְּכָל יְמֵינוּ<sup>12</sup>:

16 vi יִרְאֶה עַל־עַבְדֶּיךָ פֶּעֶלְךָ      וְהָדַרְךָ עָלַי בְּנִיחָם:  
17 וַיְהִי־נָעַם אֲדֹנָיִי<sup>13</sup> עָלֵינוּ      וּמַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵינוּ כֹּונָה<sup>14</sup>:

1 (α)	מַעַשׂ אַתָּה הָיִיתָ לָנוּ	2 (β)	אֵל	4 (γ)	כִּי עֲבַר
4 (δ)	בְּלִילָה	5 (ε)	בַּבֶּקֶר	6 (ζ)	יַחֲלָף
7 (η)	כִּי־כָלֵנוּ בָאֶפֶךְ	וּבְחַמְתָּךְ נִבְהָלָנוּ <sup>15</sup>			
9	כִּי־כָל יְמֵינוּ פָּנוּ <sup>16</sup>	כָּל־י שְׁנֵינוּ בְּנִיחָה:			
10 (θ)	בָּהֶם	11 (ι)	שָׁנָה	12 (κ)	שָׁנָה
8 (λ)	שָׁתָה עֲנוּתָנוּ לְנִגְדְךָ	עַמְלָנוּ לְאִוֵּר פֶּנִּיךְ			
15 (ν)	שִׁמְחָנוּ כִּי־מֹת עֲנוּתָנוּ	שְׁנוֹת רַאֲיוֹנוּ רָעָה:			
17 (ξ)	אֱלֹהֵינוּ	עָלֵינוּ וּמַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵינוּ כֹּונָה			
11 (ππ)	מִי־יִזְרֹעַ עֲזָרָאֲךָ	וּמִי־רָאָה עֲבָרְתְּךָ:			
12	לְמִנּוֹת יִסְבּוּ כִּי־הִיָּדָע	וּמִלֵּא לִבְנֵנוּ חֻקְמָה:			
9 (ρρ)	בַּעֲבָרְתְּךָ				

This may be translated as follows :

#### PSALM 90

#### *A Prayer of Moses, the Man of God*

- A i 1 O Lord,<sup>a</sup> Thou art eternal,  
     {without beginning or end,<sup>b</sup>}  
 2 Ere mountains were brought forth,  
     ere earth and land were born. { }
- ii 4 A thousand years in Thy sight  
     are as yesternight<sup>c</sup> or as a night-watch.<sup>d</sup>  
 3 To dust Thou turnest mortals,  
     and sayest, Return ye, men !
- B iii 5 Thou hast gendered them year by year,  
     like sprouting herbage they are :<sup>e</sup>

- 6 In the morn it buds and blossoms,<sup>5</sup>  
at even it is seared and withered.<sup>7</sup>
- iv 10 Our years<sup>θ</sup> are threescore and ten,<sup>4</sup>  
and, if one be strong, even fourscore;<sup>κ</sup>  
Yet most of them — labor and sorrow,  
for nought we are toiling and moiling.
- C v 13 *Relent, O Jahveh! Enough!*  
*take pity on Thy servants!*<sup>^</sup>
- 14 *With the fill of Thy goodness sate us*  
*that all our days we rejoice.*<sup>μν</sup>
- vi 16 *Manifest Thy work on Thy servants,*  
*and Thy glory on their sons!*
- 17 *May the favor of the Lord<sup>ξ</sup> be upon us,*  
*support our handiwork!*<sup>ο</sup>
- 
- (α) 1 Thou hast been a stronghold for us (β) 2 O God!
- (γ) 4 when it is past (δ) in the night (ε) 5 in the morning (ζ) 6 it sprouts
- (η) 7 Through Thy wrath we end, snatched away through Thine ire; <sup>ππ</sup>
- 9 For all our days decline,<sup>ρρ</sup> we end our years in sighing.
- (θ) 10 in them (ι) years (κ) years
- (λ) 8 Oh! place our suffering be- our toil in the light of Thy face!
- fore Thee,
- (ν) 15 Let us rejoice as many days as many years as we saw evil!
- as we suffered,
- (μ) 14 and be glad (ξ) 17 our God (ο) upon us, support our handiwork
- 
- (ππ) 11 Who minds Thy wrath? who heeds Thine anger?
- 12 Our days teach us truly to tell, and fill our hearts with wisdom!
- (ρρ) 9 through Thine anger

I append two metrical translations in German and in Assyrian; cf. my Assyrian renderings of Pss. 23 and 137, and David's Dirge on Saul and Jonathan, AJSL 21, 137; OLZ 10, 67; JHUC No. 163, p. 56; see *Preliminary Bibliography of Paul Haupt*, compiled by A. Ember, JHUC No. 240, p. 26, l. 6.

*Gebet des Gottesmannes Moses*

- A i 1 Herr,<sup>α</sup> Du bist für und für,  
{von Urzeit bis zur Endzeit,<sup>β</sup>}
- 2 Ehe denn die Berge geboren  
und Erd' und Land erschaffen.}}

- ii 4 Vor Dir sind tausend Jahre  
wie die gestrige Nacht,<sup>δ</sup> eine Wache.<sup>δ</sup>
- 3 Zu Staub machst Du die Menschen  
und rufst sie wieder in's Dasein.
- B iii 5 Jahr für Jahr hast Du sie erzeugt,  
sie sind <sup>ε</sup> wie sprossendes Gras :
- 6 Am Morgen wächst es und blüht,<sup>ζ</sup>  
am Abend ist's welk und verdorret.<sup>η</sup>
- iv 10 Unserer Jahre Zahl <sup>θ</sup> ist siebzig <sup>ι</sup>  
bei grosser Kraft auch achtzig ; <sup>κ</sup>  
Doch ist's meist nur Mühe und Arbeit,  
vergebliches Plagen und Quälen.
- C v 13 *Lass ab ! O Jahveh ! Genug !*  
*hab' Mitleid mit Deinen Dienern !<sup>λ</sup>*
- 14 *Mit der Fülle Deiner Gnade lab' uns,*  
*lass' uns frohlocken <sup>μ</sup> all' unsre Tage !<sup>ν</sup>*
- vi 16 *Zeig' Dein Walten an Deinen Dienern,*  
*Deine Grösse an ihren Kindern !*
- 17 *Des Herren <sup>ξ</sup> Huld sei bei uns,*  
*unsrer Hände Arbeit fördre !<sup>ο</sup>*
- 
- (α) 1 eine Feste bist Du für uns (β) 2 O Gott (γ) 4 wenn sie vorüber  
gewesen
- (δ) 4 in der Nacht (ε) 5 am Morgen (ζ) 6 sprosst
- (η) 7 Vor Deinem Grimm ver- weggerafft durch Deinen Zorn.<sup>ππ</sup>  
gehn wir,
- 9 Denn all' unsre Tage schwin- unsre Jahre vergehn in Jammer.  
den,<sup>ρρ</sup>
- (θ) 10 darin (ι) Jahr (κ) Jahr
- (λ) 8 Unser Leiden stelle Dir vor, unsre Not vor Dein leuchtendes Ant-  
litz !
- (ν) 15 Für die Tage unsres Leidens für die Jahre da wir Unglück er-  
gieb uns Freude, fahren !
- (μ) 14 und uns freuen (ξ) 17 unsres Gottes (ο) 17 bei uns, unsrer Hände  
Arbeit fördre !
- 
- (ππ) 11 Wer bedenkt Deine Zornglut ? wer beachtet Deinen Unwillen ?
- 12 Lehr' uns recht zu zählen unsre Tage und füll' unser Herz mit Weisheit !
- (ρρ) 9 durch Deinen Unwillen

*Tislitu ša Mûšâ amêl ili*

- A i 1 *Bêlum* <sup>a</sup> *dârû atta* {ultu-ullâ ana-arkât ûmê <sup>β</sup> }  
 2 *Lam šadê v'aldû-ma* erçitu u-nâbalu ibbanû. { }
- ii 4 *Ina-pânika lîm šanâti* kîma-amšât<sup>r</sup> u-kîma maççarti <sup>δ</sup>  
 3 *Tenîšêti ana -tîti tatâr-ma* "Târû amelâti" taqâbî.
- B iii 5 *Šatta ana-satti tazrîsun* <sup>a</sup> kîma-urçiti ôçiti ibâšû  
 6 *Ina-šêri iddâšî-ma isdmax* <sup>ξ</sup> ina-lîlâti ibbal-ma irrur.<sup>r</sup>
- iv 10 *Ûmê šandîni* <sup>θ</sup> sêbâ-ma ina-emûgê rabâti samânâ <sup>a</sup>  
*Ma'adûssun puşqu u-dan-* ana-inîmma šûnuxânî şumru-  
*natu* çânî.
- C v 13 *Tûra Iâma adî-matî* ana-ardêka rêma rišîşun <sup>λ</sup>  
 14 *Ina-makâr salîmîka šuš-* ina-kal ûmêni nirêša. <sup>μν</sup>  
*qîni-ma*
- vi 16 *El-ardêka epîštuka linna-* tanîttuka elî mârêşun  
*mir-ma*  
 17 *Lû-dumqu ša Bêlini* <sup>ξ</sup> elî- šîpir qâtâni şutêşîr. <sup>o</sup>  
*ni-ma*

(a) 1 <i>dannatu ana-nâšî tabšî</i>	(β) 2 <i>ilu</i>	(γ) 4 <i>ša êtiqu</i>
(δ) 4 <i>ina-mûšî</i>	(ε) 5 <i>ina-šêri</i>	(ζ) 6 <i>uççâ</i>
(η) 7 <i>Ina-uzzatika niklî</i>	<i>ina-uggatika nillaqit</i> <sup>ππ</sup>	
9 <i>U-kal ûmêni izliqû-ma</i> <sup>ρρ</sup>	<i>šanâtîni ina-tânîxi kalû</i>	
(θ) 10 <i>ina-šâşunu</i>	(ι) <i>šanâtî</i>	(κ) <i>šanâtî</i>
(λ) 8 <i>Maruštani mazarka šukun</i>	<i>šapşaqani ina-nûr pânika</i>	
(ν) 15 <i>Kî-ûmê maruštîni xuddîni</i>	<i>šanâtî ša-limutta nîmuru</i>	
(μ) 14 <i>u-nîxâdû</i> (ξ) <i>ilîni</i>	(o) <i>elîni-ma šîpir qâtâni şutêşîr</i>	

(ππ) 11 <i>Mannu-uggataka idî-ma</i>	<i>mannu-kimiltaka upâq</i>	
12 <i>Ana-manî ûmêni kênîš-šîdî-ma</i>	<i>libbani nîmêqa nullî</i>	(ρρ) 9 <i>ina kimiltika</i>

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE HEBREW TEXT

V. 1. — The name משה may have been originally מושע so that משה would correspond to יהושע as מאיר to יאיר; see note 24 to my paper *An ancient protest against the curse on Eve* in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 50, p. 513 (Philadelphia, September, 1911).

For נביא דיהוה has איש האלהים.

For *מצון* in the gloss *מצון אתה היית לנו*, read *מצון*; cf. *Die Psalmen übersetzt von E. Kautzsch* (Freiburg i/B, 1893) p. 204. This word, however, does not mean *καταφυγή, refugium*, but *stronghold*, from *צון*; see *Mic.* 80, below. Duhm thinks that this clause was probably added by the author of vv. 13–17 (stanza C).

*בדר ודר* means *in all* (GK § 123, c) *generations*, i.e. *everlasting*; so, too, in Syriac. *ܠܕܪܕܪܝܢ* (cf. Assyrian *ana dūr dāri*) which has the same meaning (*for ever and ay*).

V. 2. — The two halves of v. 2 must be transposed (cf. *Mic.* 94, vi): *ומעולם ער-עולם אתה* (lit. *from the dim past to the dim future*; cf. above, p. 120, n. 17; contrast AL<sup>5</sup>, 153<sup>b</sup>, line 20) is the second hemistich to the first line of the poem; so Bickell, Duhm, and Zenner-Wiesmann, *Psalmen* (Münster i/W, 1906/7). Cheyne in his translation of the Psalms in the Parchment Library (London, 1884) p. 246 renders *from æon to æon*, one æon extending indefinitely in the past, and the other in the future.

*אל*, at the end of the verse, was combined by *ΘΞ* (*μὴ ἀποστρέψης, ne avertas*) with *תשב* at the beginning of the following verse; cf. second note on v. 3. This is endorsed by Paulus in *Philol. Clavis über die Psalmen* (Heidelberg, 1815) p. 397; also by Zenner-Wiesmann, and by Briggs, *Psalms* (1907). But *ΣΤ* have *את הוא אלהא*. In *𐤀𐤋*, however, *אל* (cf. *Mic.* 71, l. 2; 86, a) is vocative, not predicate.

*יִלְדוּ* is impf. pass. Qal like *יָתֵן, יָקַח, יָקַם*, etc. (GK § 53, u).

For *ותחולל* (from *חיל*; cf. *Mic.* 82) read the passive *ותחולל* (*Θ πλασθῆναι, Ξ formaretur, Τ αἰתבריאτ*). *Σ* has two verbs (cf. note on *יְמִינֶךָ*, v. 6) for *ותחולל*, one active, and one passive: *ועדלא תחבלי ארעא ועדלא תתקני תאביל*. Luther's *ehe . . . die Erde und die Welt geschaffen worden* is better than AV *before . . . thou hadst formed the earth and the world*.

*תבל* does not mean *world*, but *land*, especially *terra firma*; *Θ*, therefore, *ἡ οἰκουμένη* (cf. Syr. *תאביליא, ecumenical*). *Τ* *תבלי תבלי*. Michaelis, correctly, *Erde und Land*; also Delitzsch, *Psalmen* (1894) p. 586 explains *ארץ* as *Erdkörper*, and *תבל* as *Festland*. The original meaning is *dry land*; *תבלי* (Syr. *תאביל, תאביל, תביל, תיביל, תהבאל*) is the

Assyr. *tábalu*, a byform of *nábalu* (for *ma'balu*; cf. BA 1, 175) from אבַל = אַמַל, *to be dry*; cf. note on יְמוּלֵל, v. 6. Heb. תְּבִיל represents a later pronunciation of Assyr. *tábalu*, viz. *tébilu*; cf. Assyr. *erritu* = *arratu*, curse; *erçitu* = *arçatu*, earth. A similar Assyrian loanword is מִכַּת (*Est.* 23). According to Gen. 1 9 the dry land appeared after the earth had been created.

V. 3.—This verse should be preceded by v. 4. Bachmann, *Psalmen*, part 5 (Berlin, 1891) p. 342 remarked: *Vers 4 passte besser als v. 3, und vielleicht darf man eine Umstellung dieser Verse vornehmen.* But more than 60 years ago Ernst Meier, *Die poetischen Bücher des AT* (Stuttgart, 1850) p. 122 added to v. 4 the note: *Dieser Vers steht im Hebr. unrichtig hinter dem folgenden.* The same transposition has been adopted by Spanjer-Herford (cf. above, p. 119, n. 14).

For תִּשָּׁב read תִּשָּׁב; cf. *Mic.* 70, μ. The traditional pointing presupposes the reading אֱלֹהֵי תִשָּׁב, μὴ ἀποστρέψης; see second note on v. 2. Graetz, *O, vergilt den Sterblichen nicht bis zur Vernichtung.* Briggs, *Do not turn man back to dust.* Bachmann's conjecture, אֱלֹהֵי תִשָּׁב אֲנוֹשׁ עֲרִדְכָּא, *Thou hast pronounced a curse, Return, O man, to dust*, is gratuitous.

עֲרִדְכָּא is not equivalent to עַד הָיִיתָ דָּכָא (Hitzig). עַד is miswriting for אֵל = עַל; cf. Gen. 3 19, Eccl. 12 7, and *Kings* 142, 23; *Mic.* 80, ε.

For דָּכָא read דָּכָה, fem. of דָּךְ = דָּק *Ex.* 16 14, *Is.* 40 15, Arab. *duqq*, fine dust, lit. *powdered matter* (Hupfeld, *zu Malm*). Cf. הָדָךְ לַעֲפָר 2 K 23 6. Some MSS read דָּכָא instead of דָּכָה in Deut. 23 2; see Delitzsch, *Psalmen* (1894) p. 587, n. 1. If we retain דָּכָא, we must point דָּכָא, a form like דָּשָׂא. Isaac Leeser's Bible renders, *Thou turnest man to contrition.* Ὁ εἰς ταπεινωσιν; so, too, S (עֲדָמָא לְמוֹכָבָא; cf. v. 11). T עד מוֹתָא.

For וְתִאמַר read וְתִאמֶר; it is the *modus rei repetitae* (GK § 107, e). Cf. note on וַיִּבֶשׁ in v. 6.

שׁוּבִי should be accented on the ultima; cf. *Nah.* 18, conclusion of note on 1 1. It does not mean *Werdet was ihr wart*

(J. D. Michaelis). Similarly J. A. Cramer has in his *Poetische Übersetzung der Psalmen*, part 3 (Leipzig, 1763) p. 23:

Wenn Du gebietest: Sterbt! Kommt Menschenkinder wieder,  
und werdet was ihr waret, Staub.

Gunkel, *Kehrt wieder zurück zum Staub, daraus ihr erschaffen seid*. This explanation, which is advocated also by Briggs and in third edition of Kautzsch's HSAT, is incorrect; the present passage must be explained according to Eccl. 14: **דור הולך ודור בא**, *generations are going and coming*. The Coranic passage Sur. 30 10, cited by Cheyne, *Psalms* (1888) p. 254, has a different meaning.

V. 4. — For the etymology of **אתמול** see AJSL 22, 251.

In the gloss **כי יעבר** the prefix ' is due to dittography. **Ἐ δὲ ἡλθεν, דעבר**.

**ואשמורה** was pronounced *washmurāh*; cf. above, p. 120, n. 18, and *Mic.* 69, ii. A night-watch lasted four hours. **אתמול** is a synonym of **אמש**; it denotes the first half of the (Jewish) day, from sunset to sunrise (see JBL 21, 65, n. 17). Cf. German *nacht* = *yesterday*, and *über Nacht* in the sense of *in a short time*. The poet means to say, in JHVH's eyes 1000 years are like 12 hours; nay, like 4 hours. The point is not, as Delitzsch, *Psalmen* (1894) p. 588 and Cheyne, *Psalms* (1888) p. 254 suppose, that a watch in the night has no duration at all to the unconscious sleeper. Far more correct is the rendering given in the fourth stanza of Isaac Watts' famous hymn, *O God, our help in ages past*, quoted in C. G. Montefiore's *Psalms* (London, 1901) p. 472:

A thousand ages in Thy sight  
Are like an evening gone;  
Short as a watch that ends the night  
Before the rising sun.

The chiliastic doctrine that the world will last for 6000 years of toil and labor, to be followed by 1000 years of sabbath rest for the people of God in the Messianic Kingdom, is based on the present passage (cf. 2 Pet. 3 8 and Sir. 18 10) combined with Gen. 1 and Dan. 9; see Harnack's article on *Millennium* in the new edition (1911) of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. 18, p. 461.

V. 5. — For **וּרְמָתָם** see above p. 115. Mohammed says (*e.g.* Sur. 80 18) that God creates men *min nūtfatin*, i.e. from a drop of semen. Ehrlich, *Psalmen* (Berlin, 1904) reads **וּרְמָתָם**, and explains this as *der Samenfluss, woraus sie werden*; he renders the passage: *Im Keimen sind sie ein Jahr; am folgenden Morgen sprossen sie wie das Gras*. Zenner adopts Wellhausen's reading **שָׁנָה מִתִּים וְרַע**, but combines this with **כִּירָק**, which he substitutes for **בִּבְכָר**, thus rendering: *Das Geschlecht der Menschen wandelt sich wie Laub*. Oort, *Emendationes* (1900) p. 85 reads **וּרְמָתָם**, which seems to be a misprint (?) for **וּרְמָתָם**. Graetz, **וְעִמָּתָנוּ**, *Du hast uns gezürnt*.

The reading **שָׁנָה שָׁנָה**, *year in year out*, is supported by **Θ** *τὰ ἐξουθενώματα αὐτῶν ἔτη ἔσσονται*, **Ξ** *quae pro nihilo habentur eorum anni erunt*. **Ε** *ἐξουθενώ* (cf. Mark 9 12) = *ἐξουθενίζω* is derived from *οὐδέν*, *nothing*, and means *to regard as nothing* (cf. Hag. 2 3) or *worthless, to hold in little esteem, attach small value to it*; *ἐξουθενώμα* means here *vain pursuit, fruitless effort* (not *contempt*) = **הַבֵּל וְרַעֲיוֹן רֹחַ** in Eccl. 4 16. According to **Ξ**, **Θ** should read *τὰ ἔτη αὐτῶν ἐξουθενώματα ἔσσονται*. **Θ** took **וּרְמָתָם** as a noun; so, too, **Σ**. **Θ** may have read **בִּוּתָם** instead of **וּרְמָתָם** (**ב** = **מ**, **ו** = **ר**; cf. *Mic.* 90, l. 6). The conjectures that **Θ** read **וְהִמָּתָם** (cf. Job 33 20) or **וְיִירָהֶם** (cf. Job 19 17) are not probable. **Σ** **שִׁרְבֹתֵיהֶן** may be a corruption, or correction, of **שִׁרְבוֹנֵיהֶן**, *their trifles*; **שִׁרְבוֹנָא** is a diminutive (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.* § 131) of **שִׁרְבָא**, *affair, matter* (cf. Arab. *šuwāiyun*). **℣** paraphrases, **וְאִין לֹא תִיִּבִין**, *if they do not repent, Thou bringest upon them death; like sleepers (i.e. dead) will they be*. **וְיִוִּי** belongs to **יִחְלָף**; **כַּחצִיר יִחְלָף** is a relative clause (GK § 155, g). Hupfeld-Nowack, correctly, *sie sind . . . wie das Gras das sprosst*.

For **יִחְלָף** read **יִחְלָף**; cf. Syr. **אַחְלָף**, *to sprout*. **Σ** has **אֵין עוֹפִיא דְתַחְלָפִי דְבַצְפְּרָא יַעַא וּמַחְלָף**.

V. 6. — For **יִחְלָף**, after **יַצִּיעַ**, read **יִחְלָף**, vertical dittography of **יִחְלָף** at the end of the preceding verse.

Before **יַצִּיעַ** we may insert **יִפְרַח**, which may have been displaced by the gloss **יִחְלָף = וְיִחְלָף**. Or **יִחְלָף (= יִחְלָף)** may be



a scribal error for יפרח. For similar erroneous repetitions cf. JBL 29, 106, n. 81.

ימולל must be derived from מלל = אמל, *to wither*, not from מול, *to remove the front or top, to crop* (*Mic.* 86, a; ZDMG 64, 710, l. 18). Cf. Ps. 37 2 and Is. 40 6-8; see my translation in Drugulin's *Marksteine* (Leipzig, 1902). ™ has a double translation for ימולל: ἀποπέσοι, σκαλῆται (ℑ *decidat, induret*). §, correctly, חמא, *withers*; but ™ מתמולל, *cut off*.

For ויבש we had better point ויבש, *modus rei repetitae*; cf. last note but one on v. 3.

V. 7. — This verse (and v. 9) is a gloss on vv. 5 and 6. The meter of v. 7 is 2 + 2, whereas v. 9 has 3 + 3 beats.

Zenner inserts v. 7 after v. 10.

נבהלנו (cf. ZAT 29, 286, n. 4) does not mean *turbati sumus* (℧ ἐταράχθημεν, § אתרלחן) but *we are despatched, snatched away* by a premature death. Luther, correctly, *wir müssen plötzlich dahin*. The theological glossator wants to emphasize the point that the reason why our life is so short is that we have provoked God's wrath by our sins; cf. Rom. 5 12.

V. 8. — This verse is a gloss to v. 13; see above, p. 119.

Zenner suggested that שת might be taken as imperative.

For עונותינו (instead of ענותנו, *our suffering*; cf. v. 15) § has חטאין, ℧ חובנא.

For עלמנו (instead of עמלנו) ℧ has עניית טליותנא, *the sins of our youth* (cf. חטאות נעורי, Ps. 25 7). Cheyne (1904) reads מעלנו. § עלמין = ℧ ὁ ἀπὸ ἡμῶν. Briggs, *Thou hast set our youth in the sunlight of Thy face*.

For למאור read לאור; cf. Pss. 4 7, 44 4, 89 16, Prov. 16 15. ℧ εἰς φωτισμὸν τοῦ προσώπου σου; in Ps. 44 4 ℧ has ὁ φωτισμὸς τοῦ προσώπου σου for אור פניך. Cheyne (1904) suggests למאור (cf. AJSL 22, 250, below; 24, 124) for למאור.

V. 9. — פנו (אתפניאו ℧) means *they decline*; so Briggs and Zenner (*gehn zur Neige*). Cf. פנה היום, Jer. 6 4, and Syr. לה יומא, *the day declined*, פנא, *declining day, early evening*.

בעברתך is a tertiary gloss.

In the second hemistich, בלינו שנינו כמרהגה, we may sub-

stitute כלו for בלינו, as suggested by Buhl in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*. ⚙ ונרמי שנין איך גויי ⚙ τὰ ἔτη ἡμῶν ὡς ἀράχνη ἐμελέτων, ⚙ anni nostri sicut aranea meditabuntur. Cheyne (1904) suggests that ⚙ ἐμελέτων may be a corruption of ὡς ὁ μελετών, ⚙ sicut sermonem loquens (הגה). The original text, it may be supposed, was בלו שנינו בנונה, *our years are ended in sighing*; בנונה (for גויי, a form like דויד) corresponds to Syr. גויי (also גויי, גויי) *piping, peeping, chirping* of a bird, or *piping, crying, weeping* of a child; cf. German *piepsen*, Greek *πιπιζειν*. ⚙ (followed by ⚙⚙) took בנונה (= Syr. גויי, *piping*) in the sense of Syr. גויי, *spider*, reading בנונה, *like a spider*, instead of בנונה, *in piping, weeping*. For confusion of ב and כ cf. *Mic.* 92, ii. GB 172<sup>a</sup> s.v. הגה states that ⚙⚙ suggest the reading בנונה, *cobweb*; see also Buhl in Kittel. But in the original Heb. text of the present passage בנונה meant *sighing*, not *cobweb*. RV has, for *a tale that is told*, in the margin: or *a sound* or *sigh*. Schultz in Strack-Zöckler's commentary renders *Gemurmel*. Kirkpatrick, *Psalms* (Cambridge, 1903) p. 551 translates: *we consume our years as a sigh*. In the Talmud, בנונה, *spider* appears as כוכיא (miswritten כוכיא, כוכיא). We read Suc. 52<sup>a</sup> (cf. Snh. 99<sup>b</sup>; BT 3, 146; 7, 435): אמר רב אסי יצר הרע בתחילת דומה לחוט של כוכיא ולבסוף דומה כעבות העגלה, *Rabbi Asi said, The evil desire is at first like a thread of a spider, but finally it is like cart-ropes* (Is. 5 18). This word is found also in Persian in the form *kākiyā*; see Vullers' lexicon, 2, 779<sup>b</sup>; it may be a Semitic loanword; contrast Graetz's commentary, p. 510, and Delitzsch's *Psalmen* (1894) p. 590, n. 1.—Duhm renders, *Our years are like a weaver's shuttle, a sound (?) the days of our years; their utmost limit is 70 years*; he proposes to read, שנינו כמו ארנ הגה ימי, *שנותינו נבהם שבעים שנה*. The emendation נבהם has been adopted by Gunkel and Zenner. According to the 'Arākh, כוכיא means *weaver's shuttle*; for ארנ cf. Job 7 6.—In ⚙⚙ במורהנה (misread הגה כמו) was substituted for בנונה; הגה (for *higai*,<sup>23</sup> a form like שָׁכַב, שָׁכַב) means *moaning* in

<sup>23</sup> For *hegêh* instead of *higêh* cf. JAOS 28, 112.

Ez. 2 10 (קִינִים הַגֵּה 24 וְנָהִי) just as הַגֵּה, from the allied stem הִגַּג, has the same meaning; cf. Ps. 5 2, 39 4. Also in Gen. 3 16 we must read הִנֵּךְ instead of הִרִיךְ; see n. 2 to my paper cited in the first note on v. 1. For הַגֵּה in Job 37 2, where it refers to the thunder, cf. my paper *Die Posaunen von Jericho* in WZKM 23, 361. Ehrlich reads כִּמּוֹ הֵנָּה, *like them*, i.e. *in the same way*, for כִּמּוֹ הַגֵּה. — For ὡς ἀράχνη in  $\mathfrak{G}$  we must read ὡς ἀράχνη (so several MSS). Μελετάω means not only *to care for, attend to*, but also *to take care, take pains, labor*.  $\mathfrak{G}$  may have interpreted the hemistich to mean that we labor all our life like a spider, spinning webs which are easily destroyed (cf. Job 8 14, Is. 59 5; see AJSL 26 10) so that our endeavors are fruitless. This hemistich would then have nearly the same meaning as  $\mathfrak{G}$ 's rendering of the beginning of v. 5, τὰ ἐξουθενώματα αὐτῶν ἔτη ἔσονται, or rather, τὰ ἔτη αὐτῶν ἐξουθενώματα ἔσονται. Luther remarks in his *Scholae de Psalmis, habitae annis* 1513–1516, edited by J. K. Seidemann (Dresden, 1876) vol. 2, p. 96: *Opera inutilia sicut araneorum tela efficiunt*; contrast Luther's *Psalmen-Auslegung*, compiled by Chr. G. Eberle, vol. 1, p. 848 (Stuttgart, 1874). Matthias Claudius says in the fourth stanza of his well-known song *Der Mond ist aufgegangen*:

Wir stolzen Menschenkinder  
Sind eitel arme Sünder  
Und wissen gar nicht viel;  
Wir spinnen Luftgespinste  
Und suchen viele Künste  
Und kommen weiter von dem Ziel.

The last line but one of this stanza is based on the theological gloss in Eccl. 7 29: הֵמָּה בִקְשׁוּ חֲשֹׁבוֹת רַבִּים, *they have sought out many inventions*, i.e. *devices, theories, speculations* (Luther, *aber sie suchen viele Künste*). — Cheyne (1904) renders v. 9: *Our doings are like spider's webs, our works have been crushed like locusts*. Cheyne's conjectures in his new commentary (cf. above, p. 118, n. 13) are like spider's webs, and the words of the Bible are crushed like locusts. He

<sup>24</sup> וְנָהִי instead of וְנָהִי (cf. Mic. 72, vi) is due to haplography (נ omitted after ו).

translates e.g. v. 2: *Before Thou didst exalt Jerahmeel, and didst magnify Miccur and Ishmael*. He thinks (2, 76) that **איש האלהים** may be an editor's conjectural emendation of a corrupt form of the words **להימן האורחי**. More probable, however, **איש** = **משה** = **ישמעאל**, and **האלהים** = **ירחמאל**. *Sapientia sat!* Contrast *Mic.* 79, below. —  $\mathfrak{T}$  paraphrases the present hemistich: **שיצינא יומי חיינא היך הבל פומא דסתווא**, *we end the days of our life like a breath from the mouth in winter*.

V. 10. — According to Herod. 1, 32; 3, 22 (cited by Hitzig) Solon said, 'Es γὰρ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οὔρου τῆς ζῆς ἀνθρώπου ποσίσθημι, and the Ichthyophagi sent by Cambyases to the Ethiopians stated, ὀγδῶκοντα δὲ ἔτεα ζῆς πλήρωμα ἀνδρὶ μακρότατον προκέεσθαι.

The psalmist uses the feminine plural **שנותיני**; in the preceding gloss we have the masculine plural **שניני**.

$\mathfrak{S}$  has **למחן**, *hardly*, for **בנכורת**; the Heb. phrase, however, does not mean *hardly* or *at the most*, but *in* (the case of) *great vigor* (intensive plural). The Ethiopic text of the Book of Jubilees, 23 15, where this passage is quoted, has *if he be strong*; cf. above, p. 118, n. 13. Leiser's Bible renders, *If by uncommon vigor they be eighty*. Similarly, Augusti and De Wette's translation of the OT, part 3 (Heidelberg, 1809) p. 237 has, *wenn mit grosser Kraft, achtzig Jahr*. Grotius explains, *si autem viribus eximiis praeditus aliquis fuerit*. AV *by reason of strength* is correct, and Luther's *und wenn es hoch kommt* is wrong. Graetz's conjecture **ואם בן נכורת** is gratuitous.

For **רהבם** we must read **רָבָם** (so Zenner).  $\mathfrak{G}$  has τὸ πλεῖον αὐτῶν,  $\mathfrak{S}$  **סונאדין**,  $\mathfrak{T}$  **סונעדון**,  $\mathfrak{J}$  *amplius eorum*.

The second hemistich of this verse is corrupt; see above, p. 117. For **ונעפה**, at the end, we must read **וְנִעְפָּה**, *modus rei repetitae*, and the preceding **כי גו חיש** seems to be a corruption of **ווינע חנם** (**כ** = **ב** = **ג**, cf. *Mic.* 74, ii; **ו** = **ע**; **י** = **נ**; **ש** = **ם**). Hubert Grimme's conjecture, in his *Psalmen-Probleme* (Freiburg, 1902) p. 88, **גריש**, *death*, is impossible. According to J. D. Michaelis (cf. above, p. 116) the meaning of the passage is: *wir segeln über die See des Todes d. i. wir gehen in jene Welt; wir sterben*.  $\mathfrak{G}$  has  $\delta\tau\iota$

ἐπῆλθεν πρᾶντης ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ παιδευθησόμεθα, *¶ quoniam supervenit mansuetudo et corripiemur*, *§ מוטל דאתא עלינו* (cf. above, p. 117, n. 6). *¶* may have read: *כי* <sup>25</sup> *כאנו הן וניסר*, and *corripere* in *¶* may be a correction for *corrigerere*. Briggs considers the first two hemistichs of v. 10 a prosaic gloss. He renders the third hemistich of v. 10, preceded by the end of v. 9: *As a sigh are the days of our years, and their breadth is travail and sorrow*.

V. 11. — This is a tertiary gloss to v. 7; cf. above, p. 119.

For *ומי ראה* read, with Duhm and Zenner *וכיראתך*. Both *ידע* and *ראה* mean here *to heed, to pay attention to* (cf. Gen. 39 6. 23). We pay no attention to the manifestations of God's wrath, but continue to sin, and are therefore snatched away by a premature death. Luther's *und wer fürchtet sich vor solchem Grimm?* is better than AV *even according to Thy fear, so is Thy wrath*, but Duhm's *ומי ראה* is preferable to Luther's *ומי ירא*, although this reading is endorsed by Wellhausen and Gunkel.

V. 12. — *למנות ימינו כן הדודע* does not mean *So teach us to number our days*,<sup>26</sup> but *Make us know accurately how to number our days*, i.e. Make us realize that our days are numbered. According to Hitzig, followed by Kirkpatrick, *כן* = *וכיראתך*, but this is a corruption of *ומי ראה*. The adverb *כן* does not mean *thus* in this connection, but *truly, correctly*, Assyr. *kēniš*. We have the same *כן* in *לכן*, *all right*, lit. *verily* (it is) *right*; see ZDMG 65, 565, l. 13. J. D. Michaelis, *Lehre uns unsere Tage richtig zählen*; Delitzsch, *zu zählen unsere Tage lehre recht verstehen*. Also in 1 S 23 17 *ונם כן שאול אבי ידע* means, *also my father Saul knows that very well*; so Nowack; contrast Driver *ad loc.* *§ אודעין מנינא* *דיומן*; *¶* has *τῇ δεξιᾷ σου γνῶρισον*, *¶ dexteram tuam sic notam fac*, for *כן הדודע*. *¶* read *ימין* instead of *ימינו*. This mistake is endorsed by Briggs, who renders: *Thine hand so make us to know*, the hand as stretched out in anger and in doing awful deeds. Luther, *Lehre uns bedenken, dass wir sterben müssen*.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Ps. 44 18.

<sup>26</sup> St. Jerome's *Psalterium juxta Hebraeos* renders: *ut numerentur dies nostri, sic ostende*.

For the second hemistich, see above, p. 119.

V. 13. — שובה = שוב מחרון אפף, Ex. 32 12, 2 K 23 26, Jon. 3 9; ער-מתי תפר (תשמר) = ער-מתי שובה ער *how long?* is equivalent to our *enough!* Zenner reads שובה ער מתוך (or על), and translates: *Wende Dich wieder zu Deinen Kindern* (מתוך!).

For על read עלי; see *Mic.* 70, γ.

V. 14. — For the phonetic corruption (*Mic.* 69, i) בבקר instead of במכר, *with abundance*, see above, p. 116.

V. 15. — Instead of עניתנו (Θ ἐταπείνωσας ἡμᾶς), read עֲנוּתֵנו, *our toil*, as in v. 8.

V. 16. — For אל read על. JHVH's work is to manifest itself on His servants: <sup>27</sup> as long as His chosen people suffer, He seems to be asleep and inactive; as soon as they prosper, it is evident that He is working for them, and this prosperity is to be vouchsafed not only to the present generation, but also to their children. Otherwise the heathen may say, Where is their God? Cf. my interpretation of Ps. 130, in *AJSJL* 2, 100, n. 5. According to Ehrlich, this passage, especially the word הדרך, shows that the worshipers of JHVH were poorly fed and clothed at that time. Θ ὁδῆγη-σόν seems to have read הוֹרֶה (not הִרְרֶה, Briggs) for הִרְרֶה; for the confusion of ו and ר cf. *Mic.* 71, below.

V. 17. — *Establish the work of our hands* means, Give stability and prosperity so that we may live in peace and enjoy the fruit of our labors (יגיע כפם = מעשה ידים, Hag. 1 11).

עלינו is an erroneous repetition of עלינו at the end of the preceding hemistich, and the final ומעשה ידינו כוננה, without the meaningless (Wellhausen) עלינו, may be a correction of the preceding clause (*Pur.* 47, 42). The explanation that עלינו, *super nos* = *nos protegens*, is not satisfactory. The final ומעשה ידינו כוננה is omitted also by Zenner.

<sup>27</sup> Kirkpatrick explains, Manifest Thy power on their behalf.